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IN THE
Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1959

No. 258

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, ET AL.,
Appellants

v.

S. B. STREET, ET AL., *Appellees*

On Appeal From the Supreme Court of Georgia

APPELLANTS' REPLY BRIEF

Almost all the arguments made by the individual appellees are fully refuted in our main brief. We believe all their arguments are obviously fallacious. We will comment here only on the arguments on which they appear to place their principal reliance or which were not made in the courts below and not fully discussed in our main brief. We pass over the numerous inaccuracies in purportedly factual statements for which the individual appellees cite no record reference or cite only allegations in the complaint.

I. The Applicability of the Hanson Case

The individual appellees say (p. 20, see also that in *Railway Employees' Dept. v. Hanson*, 3225, this Court "made clear that it was ruled that a railroad employee could be required to contribute a fair share of the cost of collective bargaining". Their quotations from that case on this point and the following page refute that statement. It was support of the collective bargaining agreement, not the cost of "collective bargaining", that was at issue.

They say that this Court did not have before it in *Hanson* the fact that these unions engage in activities in the legislative and political fields. This is our demonstration to the contrary on pages 3 and 4 of our main brief. It is unnecessary to point out the exaggerated nature of some of appellees' statements attempting to make factual distinctions between this case and the *Hanson* case. It should be pointed out that this Court reversed the Supreme Court of Nebraska for holding section 2, 1 of the Railway Labor Act and agreements made pursuant thereto invalid not because there was insufficient evidence to sustain that Court's finding that the unions engage in activities other than collective bargaining but because such circumstance was irrelevant to the restrictions in the Act (copied into the agreement on the type of union-shop agreement that was submitted and entered into.

II. The Presence and Significance of "Government"

The individual appellees argue at great length that the union-shop agreements are brought about by "government action" and seem to assume that the validity or invalidity of the agreements and section 2, 1

of the Railway Labor Act is determined by a litmus-paper test of the presence or absence of "government action". This aspect of the case appears to have degenerated into an argument over labels with a studious avoidance of substantive content. Before adverting to specific arguments, we think some general observations will clarify the issues.

Unquestionably, the enactment of section 2, Eleventh was government action. If a competent branch of the federal government had not enacted it, repealing the prior federal prohibition of a union-shop and bringing into play the Supremacy Clause by declaring the federal intention to occupy the field, we would not have a case.

But there are all kinds of "government action". If Congress should enact a statute prescribing rates of pay for various employees on locomotives at a stated number of dollars per 100 miles in freight service or 150 miles in passenger service, or eight hours, whichever is sooner, with various differentials dependent on "weight on drivers", and with other differentials applicable to "short turnaround service", very different constitutional questions would be applicable to the determination of the validity of rates of pay so fixed than would be applicable to the determination of the validity of such rates of pay prescribed in a collective bargaining agreement entered into by a collective bargaining representative certified as such under an Act of Congress. Similarly, the validity of the union-shop agreements here involved is not determined by the same tests as would be applicable if Congress enacted a statute imposing as a condition of employment on a railroad that an employee join a union that spends part of its funds

in efforts to influence legislation or politics or if Congress enacted a statute imposing condition of appellees' continued employment to join the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

The questions would be different because "government action" would be different. We must look at the nature of the government action, what the government did, and not just its label, to determine its validity. Here Congress repealed in part the prohibition of a union-shop on the railroad, which in effect preempted the application of state law to the validity of such agreements. It is very clear that state law had already been excluded from consideration in this field. In 1926 when the Railway Labor Act was first enacted, and again in 1934 when it was rewritten, Congress institutionalized and gave form to the collective bargaining practices that had developed in the railroad industry. It also prohibited the non-union shop. State law was probably thereby excluded from this field. In 1951 Congress repealed in part the prohibition of a union shop. That is all the government action that we have here, on the facts of this case.

With respect to the alleged executive "government action", it must be unnecessary to refute the claim that the union-shop agreement "was encouraged, virtually dictated by governmental agencies" (see pp. 14-15, 58-61) because of the activities of the National Mediation Board and the Emergency Railway Labor Board. If there was dictation, it was rather ineffectual. It was a full year after the report of the Emergency Railway Labor Board before the unions were able to obtain a union-shop agreement from the Southern Railway. The agreement they did obtain was substantially

able than the recommendation of the Emergency Board. And it is utter nonsense to argue that the validity of a collective bargaining agreement is determined by different standards when it is reached without mediation than when it is reached after mediation.

The effort of the individual appellees (pp. 61-2) to rely on *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1, to find judicial government action is wholly misplaced for a variety of reasons. It is enough to point out that in this case such issue is entirely academic; no one has asked any court to enforce any agreement.

III. The Record Presents No Issues of Infringement of First Amendment Rights

A major segment of the brief of the individual appellees (pp. 61-106) is devoted to arguing that section 2, Eleventh and the union-shop agreement deprive them of First Amendment rights such as freedom of speech and freedom of the press. The entire discussion consists of pure fantasy.

Their argument appears to take two directions.

The first is predicated upon some astonishing "reasoning" of the court below, the Supreme Court of Georgia. It proceeds something as follows: The AFL-CIO sponsors some radio programs, or presents testimony to Congressional committees, espousing views with which the individual appellees disagree. The AFL-CIO derives its principal revenues from the five-cents per capita from affiliated unions, including the appellant unions to one of which the individual appellees would pay dues under the union-shop agreement. Thus what is said on those programs or in such testimony is said in part by means of appellees'

dues. Thus the appellees are deprived of speech because, as the Supreme Court of Georgia said in *Whitney v. California*, "one who is compelled to contribute the fruits of his labor to support or promote [such activities] is much deprived of his freedom of speech as if he were compelled to give his vocal support to those he opposes". R. 269. The reason this is so, is that "There is a common saying that 'Money makes the man'". Probably this "reasoning" requires no refutation than its description. Its nature becomes apparent when we reflect that the Government by the direct exercise of its coercive power of taxation exacts money some of which is used for such activities as Voice of America and the armed forces. It has never to our knowledge been suggested that such expenditures by the Government violate First Amendment rights of taxpayers who are isolationists or atheists.

The second approach to showing that appellees' First Amendment rights are infringed has no support whatever in the record. They say, based on pure conjecture, that the appellees are inhibited from expressing their views vocally or by resort to the press because the knowledge that part of "their" money ultimately can be traced to the financing of the expression of views by the defendant unions or the government vocally or through the press, makes them feel that it is futile for them to speak or print their views and this is the result of Congress having enacted Section 2, Eleventh. Whether or not this is a valid psychological analysis need not be determined. It is an argument advanced for the first time in this case and there is no evidence of any kind on the subject. There is no indication that any appellee or

of freedom of Georgia held, fruits of his [ies] is just as as if he were doctrines he o, they say, is 'Money talks quires no furts far-fetched flect that the coercive power h is spent in chaplains for knowledge been e Government ayers who are

appellees' First support what- psychological ted in express- the press be- "money ulti- the expression the AFL-CIO. em feel that it eir own views, ng enacted sec- is is a sound terminated; it is e in this Court. ne subject, and or anyone else

has been in fact psychologically inhibited by the u shop from expressing any views he pleased in manner he pleased. We think worth quoting the Supreme Court of Wisconsin on the question of the integrated bar (5 Wis. 2d 618, 623; see pp. of our main brief):

"The integrated Bar does not destroy either independence of the Bar or of the individual lawyers. The State Bar of Wisconsin was not intended to control and there is no evidence or information that it has controlled or attempted to control the thinking of any of its members. The State Bar Association of Wisconsin through its Board of Governors, an elected representative policy-making body, duly decides a policy within its province on behalf of the State Bar even if it understands or should understand the policy in the name of the State Bar as an entity separate and distinct from each individual. Such pronouncement by the State Bar does not necessarily mean that all of its members agree with that pronouncement nor is it necessary for them to do so. Individual members are free to think and to express their own opinions. But it is the nature of a representative democratic organization that the elected representatives of the group speak and act for it in accordance with its organic laws.

The appellees rely heavily on the dissenting opinion in *Public Utilities Commission v. Pollak*, 343 U.S. 369, to support their contention of infringement of First Amendment rights. (Brief, pp. 69, 77, 88-90, 95-96.) Assuming that opinion to be sound law, there is a critical difference between that case and this one. In that case the riders of Washington's busses were free to listen or not to listen to the radio program as they rode on busses. In this case appellees are trammelled in their choice of listening or not list-

to the AFL-CIO radio programs and in of reading or not reading union publica

In the *Hanson* case this Court found no record to raise First Amendment issues nothing in the record in this case that was in the *Hanson* case to raise such issues.

IV. There Is No Infringement of Fifth Amend

This was specifically held in the *Hanson* only intimation in that case that any First Amendment question was left open for determination. A possibly different record is the sentence (235):

“If ‘assessments’ are in fact imposed upon persons not germane to collective bargaining, a different problem would be presented.”

It is apparent from the context that the term “assessments” was carefully and precisely used to make a distinction to “fines and penalties” on the one hand and “periodic dues, initiation fees” on the other. It is clear that this caveat was generated by the “ban” on the union to levy assessments for unspecified purposes retained in certain union constitutions and referred to in footnote 7. The present record contains no evidence that any appellant has ever been subjected to an assessment for any purpose.

* The statements on pages 93-95 of appellees’ briefs, which stated amounts that members of various of the departments “must pay” for “subscriptions” to union magazines to retain their jobs, are highly misleading. The records show only that the unions have monthly publication charges in certain instances; certain amounts are set aside out of dues to sustain such publications and in other instances the price to non-members is shown.

V. Matters of State Law

The individual appellees contend that certain procedural questions raised by appellants, and the validity of a union shop in the railroad industry under Georgia law apart from section 2, Eleventh, are matters of state law conclusively determined by the court below. We recognize that this Court has repeatedly held that determinations of state law by state courts are conclusive on such questions, but subject to the right of litigants to due process and equal protection under the Federal Constitution. Points II, VIII, and Appendix A of our main brief (pp. 22-25, 87-100, 102-109) set forth such arbitrary, discriminatory, and capricious applications of state law in this case as to deny appellees due process and equal protection rights under the Federal Constitution. We remind the Court of the substance of its decision of March 21, 1960 in *Thompson v. City of Louisville*, No. 59, October Term, 1959, 350 U.S. 195, 161 Law Week 4193, to these issues.

Respectfully submitted,

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